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DETERMINING AND EVALUATING CITIZEN NEEDS AND DESIRES

What is the difference between needs and desires? How can a city determine its needs? Can desires be measured? What are the factors which influence policy determination? How can the city work to gain citizen approval of proposed programs?

Municipalities, like other governments, daily face the problem of determining the maximum level of services which can be provided and which, at the same time, are compatible with the goals of its citizens.

This report is a survey of the problem of determining community needs and desires. It will analyze the relative positions of various elements which make up a community — government, public, interest groups; what public opinion is, how it is formed, how it can be influenced; how political and administrative decisions are made; how a city may evaluate its present services in relation to its total needs; and the organization of appropriate plans to meet basic needs and desires of a community. Consideration also will be given to the situation where services are not as varied or as good as could be achieved, and where education of the public to these needs is necessary before action can be taken.

Action aimed at satisfying needs and desires must be approved and administered by an impartial structure known as government. The terms "government," the "administrative process," and "policy" are frequently heard. What do these terms mean? At what point do they come together? How useful are they to an evaluation of the role of government in our society?

Government is structure. It consists of a hierarchy of offices. At a more sophisticated level of development the government is motivated by other elements — elements which make up the *administrative process*. But just what is the administrative process? It is an interacting process of operations and personnel in the fulfillment, enforcement, and modification of public policy. Who are the people involved in the administrative process? In local government, they are:

1. The chief administrator and his department heads.
2. Civil service personnel.
3. All those officers in the executive branch of the government who are appointed or elected to their positions.

And many would add the legislature and the judiciary to this list.

Policy, broadly speaking, is the purpose of government as reflected in legislation, the administrative process, and judicial review. But governmental functions are frequently so overlapping, particularly in the strong-mayor type of government, that no really useful purpose is achieved by attempting to set up a rigid separation of policy and administration. Theoretically and practically, complete separation neither exists nor is useful. The extent of this overlapping depends on the form of government, the personality and strength of the chief administrator, and the political ideology of the community.

How is this process organized; what does it do? Theoretically, its sole function is the enforcement of public policy. This consists of discharging the laws and giving effect to public policy; taking all the steps between the time an enforcement agency assumes jurisdiction and the last brick is placed; and organizing and directing the activities of others in a public agency.

In practice, however, the public administrator has two aspects to his position: (1) general administration which deals with organization, staffing, financing, motivating, and managing; and (2) the political process which deals with policy and its formation.

At the lower and middle levels of the executive branch of local government, personnel functions are primarily of an administrative nature, and they exert influence on policy formation in a limited sense only. Policy, however, is not the sole province of the chief executive and the city council. A need for expanded facilities for juvenile offenders might first come to the attention of a case worker, psychiatric social worker, or a police officer attached to these units. While they may exert no pressure, the factual comments and information they pass on to their superiors may initiate a long series of comments and recommendations on improving and expanding detention facilities. Eventually this need may reach the attention of the mayor or manager who then may pass his information on to the council.

At its highest point, administrative management is so completely fused with leadership in policy development that in some governments and in nearly all private organizations both functions are intentionally lodged in the same man. It should be emphasized that there are higher and lower levels of both administration and policy. The chief administrator must work within differing degrees of initiative and discretion, depending on the range of political power and the administrative authority which he possesses.

It is primarily within the administrative process that needs will be determined; while it is in the legislative or political arena that desires will be ascertained and evaluated. The joining of these two great forces — need and desire — is the result of patience, intelligence, and fair-mindedness on the part of both council and chief administrator.

If a realistic appraisal of needs and desires is to be achieved, the public administrator, in small and large community alike, must be responsive to the public and the community which surrounds him and must react to changes in the external political climate.

Defining a need is a relatively simple matter which lends itself to quantitative analysis and to a common frame of reference. This is true so long as need is clearly differentiated from desires and if basic, minimal needs are considered. A much more difficult problem presents itself when going beyond basic needs to a "twilight area" and finally to a luxury or frill area.

What, then, is a need? A need has been defined as a condition requiring supply or relief; that is, the lack of something requisite or useful to an ordered way of life. In a municipality this encompasses a wide range of activity, including both services and capital improvements.

A desire is something that is longed for, and for which a wish has been expressed. Desire in a community may be the same as a need, or it may exceed or fall below what is actually needed. Again, the expressed desire may be what only a small proportion of the population wants. The vast numbers of silent citizens may rarely express any desire unless a crisis occurs. But it is in the voting booth that the silent citizen achieves his greatest potential — because it is here that he approves or vetoes the actions of the council, the mayor, and the manager.

Basic Needs

Basic needs are those things which are essential to a community and without which government could not exist.

General Administration. The first need of a community is for a central governing body to direct and conduct city services, to provide leadership and balance, and, not infrequently, to act as an umpire between conflicting groups. Irrespective of the type of government, the machinery provided will include an executive; that is, a manager, a mayor, or a commission; and a legislature or council. The powers and duties of these offices is normally embodied in a charter, state laws, and local ordinances.

Public Safety. This group includes police and fire services. Once governmental control has been centralized, steps must be taken to provide protection of life and property and to aid in the enforcement of laws and regulations.

Education. In order that communities may be assured of a continuing supply of trained citizens, education has become a prime service of government. Educational services, including high schools, elementary schools, and vocational schools, have employed the combined efforts of school districts, cities, counties, and the states.

Public Works. This includes, at a minimum, water and sewerage services and the construction of streets.

Licenses and Inspections. A well-governed community has to have methods of controlling the health and welfare of its citizens; it accomplishes this through the police power. While the municipality possesses no inherent police power, it does exercise controls which are invested in them by the state. With the police power a community can cope with the problems of health, safety, morals, and public welfare.

Refuse Collection and Street Cleaning. These services also involve the community health as well as aesthetic appearance.

These six areas, then, are the several which most municipalities consider as basic to a well-ordered community. While consensus is frequently achieved on what constitutes a basic need for a particular community, level of services provided may vary considerably with population; ability to finance; quality of central administration; and the awareness and cooperative spirit of the public and interest groups.

Twilight Area Needs

Larger communities may provide these basic services and more. "Twilight area" services are particularly difficult for the small community which has difficulty in financing even its basic needs. "Twilight area" needs are those needs which become more pressing as population increases; to a large or medium-sized city they are indispensable. Six areas are of particular significance because they have become basic ingredients in the future development of cities.

Planning. One of the fastest growing developments of the past half century has been the increase in city planning. Planning agencies work primarily in an indirect fashion, acting frequently as advisory agencies and sometimes as independent boards whose functions are the development of plans for future city development. They may offer a variety of services in developing ideas, maps, and information for use in drawing up a master plan and zoning and subdivision regulations. All informed persons would say that planning is a "basic" need. It is here classified as a "twilight" need because it has not yet attained the almost unanimous acceptance of the basic needs.

Recreational Services. This includes libraries, auditoriums, parks, and playgrounds. Recreation, like planning, is a fringe area which a city must consider in relation to its total program. Small cities frequently provide little in the way of recreational facilities other than parks, playgrounds, and bookmobiles. Leisure-time activities is being given increasing emphasis by provision for library facilities, golden-age clubs, special holiday events, athletic facilities, and boys' clubs.

Municipal Hospitals. Because of the expense involved in constructing and maintaining hospitals, many communities are served by private groups which administer hospitals and by agreements with other governmental units for the joint use of medical facilities.

Housing. One of the most pressing needs in the United States today is for adequate low-cost housing. Most cities recognize this need but find the problem almost an impossible one. Advances for the most part have taken place in medium and large-sized cities where cities have attracted private development and where federal and state funds are available.

Mass Transportation. The need to maintain mass public transit has forced some cities to take over private transportation systems hit by declining revenues. In some cities, too, mass transit has been abandoned. Other problems which arise are the ability of the city to handle traffic volumes, which are increasing to a disastrous level, and the need for parking facilities.

Luxury Needs

Luxury items tend to appear with greater frequency in the larger community, although the

medium-sized community is experiencing increased pressure toward the inclusion of one or more of the following: airports and heliports; city colleges; specialized housing for the aged; special positions in city departments to handle problems such as juvenile delinquency and domestic relations; extensive planning and engineering facilities; urban redevelopment; and highway and street developments.

The Future of City Services

There is at present no good reason to believe that any of the fundamental services of cities will be, in the near future, either abolished or completely transferred to any other government. There will be a slow, steady increase of central supervision, marked by the protection of life and property through police and fire departments; the promotion of human welfare through education, recreation, social welfare, and health work; the regulation of business, building, and housing; and the improvement of cities generally through city planning, the layout, construction, and maintenance of parks and streets, and the provision of water supplies, sewerage systems, and other utilities. All of these services will continue to be fundamentally the duties of the city.

Are there any positive restraints on the extension of municipal control over all important local services and industries? Although positive limits are rare, some fundamental checks do exist upon the movement toward increased municipal functions. In most states public opinion and the voice of the legislature are still fundamentally individualistic; it is very difficult to get legislative authority for the increase of local functions.

A second check is financial. The wealth and prosperity of the city are important factors; small cities, particularly those having small valuations and low per-capita incomes, will lag behind larger and more prosperous communities. Tax and debt limits are a handicap to many cities.

By what influences will the range of urban functions itself be determined? On the one side are the ideas of the people as to what they want from government. These ideas are conditioned by the prevalent political thought and also by the state of science, arts, and technology. Certain public services are both possible and desirable today that would not even have been thought of in the days before electricity, automobiles, and the mass media.

On the other side are the many factors that put obstacles in the way of increases in the public services: financial limitations; legal obstacles which prevent certain services; pressure groups that oppose certain services; distrust by the public toward city officials; and the current political issues on the proper functions of government. Officials are primarily interested in what functions are now expected of them, while many pressure groups press for or against additional services. When discussing the satisfaction of desires it is necessary to consider both the present and the future range of functions.

Group Influences on Policy Determination

A city which recognizes the necessity for determining present and future needs in relation to citizen desires must evaluate the role played by group activity in policy formation. Determining community desires does not consist of merely conducting a public opinion survey of the community, nor does it consist only of reading the editorial page of the local newspaper. It is rather a complete evaluation and analysis of many factors: the social-economic level of the community; the type of community, i.e., does it depend primarily on residential citizens, or is it a diversified municipality; does it have a strong two-party system, or is it characterized by one party which to a large extent is fragmented; what are the major groups which are organized in the community, and what is the relative strength and influence of these groups; what level of awareness do the citizens have with regard to municipal services?

A working conception of the administrative process must take into account the interactions among groups, interests, and governmental institutions that produce decisions. Moreover, a working conception of the political system must make a place for organized interest groups. Such groups not only seek to exert influence; they are a part of the political system — elements which are as

integral to a representative system as is a democratic method of succession to office, whether through political parties or nonpartisan elections.

A political party is defined here as a legally recognized body of voters which seeks to control governmental policy by persuading the electorate to install certain candidates as public officers. In some areas these groups may have labels such as "Democrats," "Republicans," "Independents," or "Liberals"; while in other areas, particularly where council is elected on a nonpartisan basis, groupings of individuals (*not* to be confused with pressure groups) actively campaign for the election of certain persons who represent a particular viewpoint toward government.

The chief social values cherished by individuals in modern society are realized through groups. The number is countless, and the variety of these social groupings is abundant and complex. Some of these groupings are simple in structure, while some are complex forms of units and subunits of organization, joined together for some common purpose. Many organized groups operate out of the direct public gaze, while others do not. The latter are normally national groups, and their prominence tends to obscure the eye from the very great number of groups which are found at the local level, in communities large and small.¹

What are the groups instrumental in forming public opinion in the American city? They are those which, according to Charles E. Merriam, constitute the informal and irresponsible government back of the formal government. For Chicago, Mr. Merriam listed: political parties and factions; civic societies; business, labor, racial groups; religious groups; regional groups; professional groups; women's groups; the press; and the underworld.²

In the small town of Amherst, Massachusetts, there are, not counting student organizations and the official groups in the town government, "well more than one hundred Clubs, Lodges, Leagues, Guilds, Tribes, Granges, Circles, Unions, Chapters, Councils, Societies, Associations, Auxiliaries, Brotherhoods, and Fellowships. Their specialties or special interests, to name a few, include cards, cameras, stamps, gardens, churches, teachers, speakers, voters, horses, business, service, golf, nature, eating, fishing, gunning, parents, grandparents, ancestors, needlework, temperance, travel, and kindergarten."³

Influence of Pressure Groups

A pressure group is a banding together of individuals who have one or more similar interests and goals. These goals are attained through lobbying, publicity, and by the election of individuals favorable to their goals. They differ from political parties in that they make no attempt to formulate a broad platform, nominate candidates, and compete for control of the government. They compete for attitudes not offices. The interest group possesses a sharply defined membership, a concrete purpose with which all the members are psychologically identified, and the attributes of unity essential for concerted action. As membership increases, as they become less homogeneous, as the common interest dwindles, they become aggregates many of whose members identify themselves with the group only vaguely or intermittently. Nevertheless a relatively clear-cut sense of purpose tends to animate most pressure groups.

In visualizing government as a process, it is possible to see what a tremendous advantage powerful and well-organized groups have in politics over the mass of unorganized citizens. Such groups are especially strong when they have some definite interests to fight for. They are to be found involving themselves in action for or against compulsory pasteurization of milk, municipal ownership of a public utility, construction of a bridge or municipal auditorium, establishment of a park, regulation of housing or establishment of low-cost public housing, and zoning the city into districts for residential, manufacturing, business, and other purposes.

Lobbying through a pressure group is a legitimate activity, despite the sinister connotations which sometimes surround it. Frequently this is due to a lack of understanding of the true function

¹Earl Latham, *The Group Basis of Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952), pp. 1-2.

²Charles E. Merriam, *Chicago* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1929), p. 93.

³William L. Doran, *University of Massachusetts Alumni Bulletin*, December, 1948, p. 4.

of a pressure group, and sometimes due to the dubious methods employed by some of these groups. These groups will use various methods to obtain legislation which is favorable to their interests and desires. These methods are aimed at four groups: the city council; the administration; the public; and, where applicable, administrative boards and commissions.

The City Council. Pressure groups are most conspicuous in their activities in support of and in opposition to legislative proposals. While local pressure activity has much in common with its counterparts in Washington and the state capitals, many of the methods used are unique. Each major group has its friends and allies in council, men whose affiliations and predispositions dispose them generally favorably toward the group. At times these men are ahead of pressure groups in the advocacy of a cause and may even enlist the support of pressure groups on specific matters.

A major point of contact between the council and the interest group is the public council meeting. Organized groups take this opportunity to present their case. At times their presentation may rest on substantial factual research and provide genuine help in estimating the effects of a proposal. Just the presence of a large number of interested groups may tend to influence the decisions of council.

Much of the contact between council and interest group is achieved on an informal basis at social functions and professional meetings where face-to-face contact is achieved. The president of the local real estate board may attend the same church as a councilman, thus encouraging personal contact which is a much more effective means of influencing policy decisions than pressure exerted by a group.

One of the difficulties which arises in city councils is the emergence of one or two leaders who can influence the decisions of the rest of the members of the group. These leaders, if themselves unduly influenced by particular pressure groups, can cause a situation to arise which is unfair to the public as a whole, and to other groups in particular. *This activity, however, is on an extremely limited and informal basis, since a pressure group on the local level might become active for only a short period of time, at the end of which it resumes its former passive or inactive status.*

An example of the fluctuating activity of groups on the local level was evident in New York City in 1957 when civil liberties groups actively appeared before city council and the board of estimate in an effort to further the passage of the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs bill. Once the goal was achieved ("open" housing), active lobbying was dropped. No continuing, formal organization is provided by pressure groups on the local level. In this respect it differs radically from state and federal governments.

In the small community pressure groups in the usual sense of the word seldom exist. It takes a significant issue to bring pressure groups into active roles, and in a small city this situation may rarely occur.

Administrators. Pressure groups are at their most spectacular in their support of and opposition to legislation, but equally important are their continuous relationships with the administrative agencies of government. In a large city a group may be instrumental in obtaining the passage of legislation; it then may follow through with pressure, aid, and encouragement to the agency charged with responsibility for enforcing the act. Ordinances may be administered continuously or sporadically, and the choice may be related to the concern of various groups about the matter.

With the growing complexity of government, legislative bodies have had to delegate authority to administrative agencies to make rules and regulations. Administrators become legislators, and pressure groups inevitably direct their activities to the point at which authority to make decisions is lodged. An example is the pressure brought to bear on a zoning board of appeals to issue variances.

Pressure groups on occasion organize a propaganda campaign against administrative agencies, a campaign calculated to discredit the agency in the public eye and to direct pressure upon it to influence its decision.

A well-worn channel by which private groups attempt to influence administrative agencies is through city councilmen. Councilmen control appropriations and legislation, a point of control which they jealously guard from encroachment. Legislative intervention may also jog a timid administrator

into fulfilling a plain duty or to moderate arbitrary practices. The administrative-legislative-lobby triangle at times includes group influence calculated to influence council to make inadequate appropriations; contrariwise, those groups desirous of adequate programs may reinforce the requests of administrators for appropriations.

Finally, appointments to administrative posts are by no means a matter of indifference to the association whose members are affected by the agencies in question.

Administrative Boards. Administrative boards and agencies, more than other departments in the city government, are points of pressure both from organized groups and individuals. The specialized and sometimes personal nature of their work tends to open them to pressure which the regular departments in a city would not be approached with.

The Public. Cultivation of public opinion occupies an important place only in the programs of organizations able to finance the costly task of manipulating mass attitudes. Public relations efforts are essentially of two sorts. An intensive, short-term campaign may be designed to whip up public opposition to or support of a particular legislative measure. To be differentiated from the whirlwind campaign is the long-term effort to manage basic public attitudes toward support of a broad point of view or to create favorable sentiment.

The assumption of these campaigns is that the creation of favorable public attitudes generally will make for smoother sailing when particular questions of public policy arise for decision. Though public relations campaigns may build a status for a group in the public mind, a group's deeds in the long run have more effect on the public's impression of the group.

Political Parties

Political parties constitute a basic element of democratic institutional apparatus in many communities, particularly the large city. In these areas they perform an essential function in the management of succession to power, as well as in the process of obtaining popular consent to the course of public policy. They amass sufficient support to buttress the authority of governments; or, they attract or organize discontent and dissatisfaction sufficient to oust public officials.

Political parties, in combination with other institutions and procedures, provide means for handling succession to authority more or less peacefully. This is particularly true in large cities where a clear-cut division between two or more parties exists.

Many communities, particularly those under 100,000 population, have found that the institutions of 100 and 150 years ago provide an inadequate vehicle for the modern city. These cities, in realization of the need for a more efficient method of assuring succession in office, have installed the non-partisan election of council. This is particularly evident in council-manager cities. Under this system an effort has been made to run candidates, not under party labels which produce rigidity, but on the basis of their ability to do the work of the office to which they are elected. It matters little whether a man is a Democrat or Republican in running the modern municipality — it is of vital concern that he understand the problems involved in running a municipal water works system, in maintaining an adequate transportation system, and in solving the myriad of municipal problems which are mainly administrative in nature.

The Administration as a Pressure Group

Since a municipal department is concerned with special and limited aspects of public policy, to a degree it resembles the ordinary private pressure group. In this representative process perhaps the agency's most important function is to promote the idea that its special area of concern is important — be it fire safety, building inspection, or traffic control. The agency also promotes special solutions to policy problems in its special area. Finally, it promotes objectives which are of particular interest to its members as public servants. These are matters such as their working conditions, status, and compensation, as well as the maintenance and survival of their organization.

Despite the restrictions which may be placed upon agencies because they are part of the government, they still have considerable autonomy within the executive structure to engage in pressure politics. They enjoy certain advantages by being in close alliance with the executive, which helps to

offset the restrictions placed upon them. They may have the cooperation of the manager or mayor in their advisory functions and consequently can speak with some force as the administration's specialists.

Municipal agencies welcome and at times aid the organization of groups to serve as their sponsors. In local governments, outstanding examples of sponsor groups are to be found in Parent-Teacher Associations or in "Friends of the Library." And at a more official and formal level they may be found in the boards and commissions which are officially charged with setting policies for various municipal agencies.

The way in which board sponsorship works to an administrator's advantage was observed a few years ago in a New England city. The head of the library board was the woman with the most prestige in town, and the librarian was regarded as her protegee. These two ladies got the board chairman's husband to agree to buy a bookmobile for the public library if the city would agree to maintain it. Then the city council was presented with this proposition at a meeting in which the library board was well represented and virtually able to make the matter one in which the council would appear cheap if it refused. The council, seeing that it had little choice, voted the funds to maintain the bookmobile and, of course, to furnish a driver.⁴

The ultimate aim of an agency's publicity is in large measure to create a climate of opinion which will be favorable to its objectives; some of it is necessary to the administrative process by making more acceptable to the public the things the agency has already been assigned to do. But the cultivation of favorable public images may also serve to build up support for legislation which the agency desires but does not have, and it is difficult to separate one function of public publicity from the other.

The Mass Media

Among the factors which influence public opinion, special mention should be made of the press. Many people, without realizing it, form their opinions from the newspaper, which has been referred to by Walter Lippman as the "Bible of Democracy." It has extensive power in the formation of public opinion.

Not only is there this power of the newspaper to influence public opinion and thus the vote on candidates and measures, but by campaigns for or against measures the press is able to influence the action of the men who are in office. Exposure of vice and gambling by newspapers will lead to a stricter policy on the part of law enforcement agencies. Public officials fear adverse press criticism, and many of them unquestionably temper their politics to avoid unfavorable newspaper publicity.

There has been much criticism of the press as an instrumentality in the formation of public opinion. One criticism holds that because of the commercialized nature of the press it distorts or does not give the news. The business office, it is said, dominates the editorial policy and even determines whether certain news shall be printed. Large advertisers, it is claimed, in effect become the censors of the press. If a large advertiser is involved in a scandal, such as the violation of a building code or the bribery of a public official, pressure can be brought to have the story kept out of the newspaper.

The forces of television and radio as well as the press are receiving greater notice in an age when the mass media is being used in a variety of ways to influence public opinion on every level of government.

One of the most lucid analyses of the power of a newspaper to influence municipal policy is in the August, 1959 issue of the *Midwest Journal of Political Science*. In an article entitled "The Power of the Press: The Case of 'The Toledo Blade,'" Reo M. Christenson of Miami University (Oxford, Ohio), outlines the points of influence wielded by publisher Paul Block, Jr., and the *Toledo Blade*. The attitude of Publisher Block and the *Blade* is summed up in his fight against the council-manager form of government. The independent *Blade* has assumed the role of defender of the strong-mayor

⁴J. Leiper Freeman, "The Bureaucracy in Pressure Politics," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1958, p. 18.

form of government, even to the extent of attacking the present city manager and the groups which favor the council-manager plan. This influence on the community stems in no little part from the general excellence of the paper.

Mr. Christenson has put it well when he states: "It may be that no community group or person — except a strong mayor, perhaps — can successfully contend with a newspaper which has won community respect, which wants to lead as well as mirror, which uses its power judiciously and is careful not to overplay its hand."

Public Opinion

An administrator trying to determine community desires cannot be satisfied with accepting uncritically the programs of interest groups, nor will he fully understand the processes of policy formation by the use of the poll only. The administrator who is formulating a program of capital improvements needs basic definitions of terms like "public opinion," "attitudes," and "the public interest." He must recognize which groups are working with and influencing the community; and he must know intimately the forces the city can use to move public opinion and to gain the cooperation of the interested groups.

What is public opinion? Is it the opinion of something called the public, the opinion of the majority, the opinion that becomes public by being published, the sum of opinions held by individuals on matters of public interest, or is it what everybody thinks "The Others" are thinking?

Public opinion is an elusive and powerful force. It can be, and often is, the real power behind the powerful. Public opinion is the consensus of a group of two or more individuals on a particular issue. It is an expression on a controversial topic. Public opinion results from the interaction of persons upon one another in any type of group. Publics are simply large groups. At any time there may be a prevailing, or dominant, view of at least some of the members in a group, but there are also any number of other opinions maintained by the members of that group. There may or may not be a majority expressing a common opinion. The opinion process in a group may be a reasoned, logical analysis. In large groups it is more often involved in sentiment, emotion, and casual impressions in various illogical elements.

On the basis of the expressed opinion one may and does assume attitudes, beliefs, and other subjective states, but the opinion is expression on a controversial issue.

"There can be no such thing as opinion without stating the content of the opinion in language form. The response of individuals to this common stimulating situation may be either verbal or nonverbal. It may, for example, be a grimace, gesture, or emotional expression. This reaction, however, must be capable of being readily translated into words, such for example, as expressions of agreement or approval."⁵

From the viewpoint of public as a group, a public opinion is the expression of the majority and the minority or minorities at any given time. The final expression of a public opinion is more than the individual points with which the process starts. Though public opinion exists only in the minds of individuals, it is the product of a collective mental life.

What, then, is the difference between opinion and attitudes? An attitude is a mental state of preparation or experience, asserting an influence on the individual's response to objects and situations with which it is related. Any expression of the opinion involves attitudes which have been developed through experience. It is significant, however, that the particular attitudes which affect opinion are frequently difficult to ascertain.

The Nature of Public Opinion

Basic beliefs or attitudes are formed in various ways. They are initially conditioned by: (1) primary institutions of family, church, and school; and (2) secondary institutions such as political parties, interest groups, and other group affiliations.

⁵Floyd H. Allport, "Toward A Science of Public Opinion," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, January, 1937, p. 14.

These basic beliefs condition the opinions individuals will express on a given topic. Thus, an individual may have the attitude that "that government is best which governs least," and he may, therefore, express an opinion that a municipality should not engage in public housing. It is also possible that his opinions might be modified or changed in contradiction to his basic attitudes because experience has shown him that in a complex society individuals are interdependent and that a measure of reliance must be put upon government to take care of those situations which individuals cannot take care of themselves.

Public opinion is formed through communication and social interaction. The primary causes of opinion consist in the things an individual sees, hears, and reads. Seeing a parade, or listening to a political speaker, or casting a vote will probably elicit the expression of an opinion.

The beginnings of public opinion may be found in apparent discontent in some areas which may lead to group action; discussion is precipitated by the existence of controversy.

The second stage is reached when discussion becomes general as discontent spreads. Groups with interests vested in the prevailing order will spring to its defense, issues will be dramatized, investigation will follow, and the opposition will form around the banner of "progress."

The third stage will find promotion met by protest in an intensified propaganda campaign for the plans of the opposing sides. The line of demarcation will be clearly defined, fact will be mixed with fancy, truth with legend and myth, reason with emotion.

Finally, the climax is reached. Opinions may be registered in terms of an election or a policy decision, or formal legislative action. Although a temporary consensus is achieved, there is no assurance that majority support has been rendered. Both sides adapt themselves to the changed environment. Eventually a redefinition and modification of ideas takes place, and the opinion process has run its course.

An excellent example of the opinion process in operation is afforded by the report of San Rafael, California, on the need for a new civic center and the selection of an architect for this project.

In 1956 the board of supervisors of Marin County purchased a site one mile from the county seat for a community center. A county fair, county buildings, and a veterans memorial auditorium were slated for this land. A civic center committee was appointed by the board of supervisors to make recommendations on the development of the community center; a firm of management consultants prepared a complete administrative study of the project. In 1957 the civic center committee recommended to the board of supervisors that the late Frank Lloyd Wright be retained as architect. The result of this was to incur the active opposition of many interest groups and individuals in the community. A representative of the veterans' group claimed Mr. Wright was a pacifist; numerous people accused him of being a communist; the local taxpayers' association objected to the cost of the architect's fee; and the largest local chamber of commerce expressed opposition and pressed for a local architect.

The board of supervisors, after assessing these views and many others, voted four to one for Mr. Wright. Many stumbling blocks were put in the way of the work of Mr. Wright, but eventually, through the use of a program of public education the community was convinced of the soundness of the decision.

Measurement of Needs and Desires

The measurement of needs is done largely through compilation, comparison, analysis, and evaluation of: (1) operating statistics from the city government, and of (2) "community" data such as census reports, locally compiled manufacturing and employment data, school enrollment figures, and related sources.

The internal sources of data are especially useful in evaluating existing city government services by the criteria of performance, effectiveness, and efficiency. Thus the information helps in carrying out management responsibilities for decision-making, budget formulation, administrative research, management control of operations, and management reporting to the city council and the public.

The external sources are helpful in evaluating the need for new services. Thus they help provide a realistic basis for council evaluation of policy proposals, council adoption and modification of policy, and gaining public support for proposals.

Of necessity, principal reliance in the measurement of desires must be done through measurement and evaluation of public opinion. This may be done with some degree of precision through polling methods or, as is true in the great majority of cities, through informal, sometimes intuitive judgment. In either case measurement of desires requires sensitivity and alertness to community attitudes from whatever source. It is here that the city council, in its representational role, can be especially valuable in recognizing and even anticipating community desires. The chief administrator too has a great responsibility in being alert to community desires and, because of his professional experience and orientation, can often sense a different, perhaps community-wide, attitude that others do not as readily detect. The roles of council and chief administrator in the informal evaluation of community desires is discussed briefly in the next major section of this report, "Policy Formation in a Municipal Setting."

Agencies That Measure Needs and Desires

1. The Manager or Mayor. The chief administrator has the function of determining needs and in presenting this information to the council for their consideration in the development of policy.

2. Department Heads. While the chief administrator must evaluate all types of programs, he does not have the specific knowledge or time to outline in detail the needs of every department. This then becomes the function of the department head; a function which is carried out primarily during the budget preparation period.

3. Specialized Municipal Agencies. The prime example is the local planning commission which has the necessary expertise and responsibility to prepare detailed studies on problems of community development.

4. City Council. It is the duty of the council, which most closely represents the public, to determine the desires of the people. The correlation of desires with needs of the city is primarily a function of council, although much of the administrative work can be delegated to the chief administrator.

5. Private Research Agencies. Local groups, universities, and bureaus of public administration can provide valuable assistance in the development of measures of need.

6. Advisory Committee and Community Councils. These groups frequently perform a fact-finding service for local government. An excellent example of this type of organization is in Covina, California, where 70 organizations recently took on the job of determining what improvements were needed in the city. Seven committees were organized and after several months' work presented the city administrator with a priority list of 54 projects, totaling \$5,300,000.

Needs

Needs can be determined by a hit-or-miss method, or an effort can be made to measure them more scientifically, even if only reasonable approximations can be attained. Needs cover not only capital replacements and new capital improvements, but services as well.

It is important to know what aspect of government is being measured by a particular index because administration can be measured in a number of ways. There are really three important questions which the trained administrator recognizes: What can be measured? For what purpose? By what techniques and procedures?

A replacement decision may be based primarily on operating records, which may show that the capital item is no longer an efficient unit, and that a replacement will pay. To determine the need for new capital improvements, other methods are required. For example, the traffic engineer may conduct a traffic and parking survey to measure the need for a new municipal parking lot. An economic base study may indicate that certain types of new industries would give the community a more balanced economic base, but that such industries cannot be attracted until the city expands its

water plant or makes certain other basic improvements. The need for new school construction, or recreational areas, can be approximated by statistical studies which compare what the city has with recognized standards, adjusted for the special conditions of the community. Professional, functional standards adjusted to local conditions are in widespread use.

Measurement of needs usually is done by planners and operating heads. Determination of programs is in the final analysis a policy matter for the city council, but the measurements that go into proposals can be classified as administrative measurement. The responsibility of council for determining programs and administrative objectives must be underscored, but proposals stem often from alert administrators in their advisory and staff roles. To recommend proposed service programs with measures of probable results is within the democratic process if the final decision of programs and objectives remains with the council which expresses the popular will.

The techniques used in administrative research and analysis must be varied to fit the particular problems being studied. In all cases, however, the general principles followed are: (1) identification of the problem under consideration and determination of the scope and techniques of the survey required to find a solution; (2) collection of complete factual data concerning the problem; (3) thorough analysis and interpretation of the facts obtained; (4) development of possible solutions and selection of the particular one to be recommended; (5) preparation of the final report and recommendations and its explanation to management and operating personnel; and (6) installation of recommendations and subsequent follow-up to make adjustments required.

Measurement of Existing Services. Some of the standard techniques which lend themselves admirably to measurement of increased need for current services or the need for capital replacement are performance, effectiveness, and efficiency.⁶

1. Performance. Performance is the most common method of administrative measurement. Actual performance can often be quantified, whether the performance is of an individual, a group (team or crew), an organizational unit, a piece of equipment, an activity, or an operation. In some areas of administration, however, it is extremely difficult to develop a unit of measurement. Where performance is in standardized units and can be measured, actual performance can be compared with standards. Management can then center its attention on causes for variances from standards.

2. Effectiveness. The comparison of actual performance with standard performance gives one measure of effectiveness. Management is also interested in comparing actual performance of a program with the budgeted work program, in order to measure the effectiveness of an organizational unit in carrying out a program. In addition, management is interested in effectiveness in attaining given objectives, attainment being expressed in terms of "results."

3. Efficiency. Standards for the measurement of effectiveness leave unanswered one very important question: How efficient is the administration? A "good" public library, from the administrative standpoint, is not one which owns all the books that have ever been published, but one which has used the limited funds which were allowed to build up as good a collection as was possible under the circumstances.

A high degree of efficiency basically means to management getting the most effective program possible for the amount of dollars expended. A program can be effective without being efficient (that is, it costs too much money for the results); or, in turn, it can be highly efficient but not effective (that is, there was not enough to do a good job, but management did the very best possible with the dollar resources it had.)

Need for New Services. The measurement of the need for *new* services or capital projects is a much more difficult problem than merely demonstrating the efficiency or performance of a particular service. In a small city the decision to build a municipal airport is an example. Some of the techniques which could be utilized to determine whether this community needs an airport are:

1. An economic study of the city and the surrounding area. This would indicate present population, future projections of population, types and variety of businesses in the area, availability

⁶A. M. Hillhouse, "Administrative Measurement," in *The Technique of Municipal Administration* (Chicago: International City Managers Association, 1958), pp. 354-56.

of alternate modes of transportation, economic level, and availability of nearby airports which could service citizens in this city.

2. Ability of the area to financially and legally support an airport with good zoning, available land, and adequate facilities.

3. Available administrative, clerical, and technical help to run the airport.

4. Relations with other governmental units. Would it be more feasible to finance a joint airport with another government?

5. The rank of the city with regard to its activity in this area. How does it compare with cities in a similar population and financial bracket throughout the country?

6. Will the airport be taken in proper perspective with the other needs of the community, or will it receive undue attention?

7. Is planning in this community at an adequate level to bear the risk of such a venture? Is there sufficient legal paraphernalia in the form of state enabling legislation, zoning laws, and master plans to insure a proper place in the future of the city for an airport?

Municipal airports, municipal participation in rebuilding the central business district, and public housing are projects which do not lend themselves easily to quantitative measurement. Public works, on the other hand, can more satisfactorily be examined. The need for a new water filtration plant or a new sewage treatment plant frequently can be demonstrated and determined by such things as: examination of the bacteria content of the water; extent of water pollution; inadequacy of water supplies in hot weather; and many other measurements.

In the period from 1945 to 1955 when the question of pollution of the Delaware River was at its height, need for a clean-streams program and tightened laws was made evident by such factors as the annual run-off of water to the Atlantic Ocean; decline in the oyster industry; intrusion of salt water as far up the Delaware as Trenton, New Jersey; the shortage of water in New York City; and the decline in tons of shipping along the Delaware due to the pollution. Eventually the combined efforts of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, and the cities which border the Delaware River promoted the complete revitalization of the Delaware River and the Delaware Valley area.

Desires

The translation of consensus or decision of a given public into public policy, or effective criticism of public policy, is the great achievement of public opinion in the realm of politics. One of the main dilemmas of democratic government is the problem of ascertaining the many facets and intricacies of the "popular will" and of translating the "mandate of the people" into political action.

Not the least important of these problems relates to testing and measurement of opinion. The polling instrument may be discussed in terms of the questions: Who should be polled to reveal opinion? How should polling be conducted? What do the results mean?

The Sample. Typical of the technical problems of scientific measurement of opinion are the size and nature of the sample which represents the whole electorate, the framing of questions which are not "loaded" but which will elicit a true expression of the respondent's views, and the nature of the circumstances under which the interview is conducted.

The ideal method to achieve a scientific analysis of the opinions of the electorate regarding issues would be to canvass the entire voting population. Since time and expense prohibit this sampling, researchers use what is known as random sampling. By this method a typical and representative segment of the electorate is selected for investigation in a chance or random fashion.

The problem of constructing a control group which will reflect exactly, and in the proper proportion, the major characteristics of the whole electorate is an extremely complicated and technical task since the total group is composed of a heterogeneous complex of individuals, totally unlike in many important aspects.

To the principle of random sampling, therefore, must be added a system of stratified sampling,

or weighting of some of the many diverse factors characteristic of the population to be polled. Some of these factors are occupational categories, income levels, political preferences, age, sex, education, race membership, and religious affiliation.

Among other complicating factors in building the sample is the necessity for determining the portion of the electorate to be investigated. Census reports, official election returns, reports of the major administrative departments of the government, and miscellaneous information obtained from city directories, telephone books, and utility meter records constitute principal sources.

Two primary sampling procedures are known as: (1) area sampling, and (2) quota sampling. Under the area, or block-sampling method, the individuals to be questioned are first selected according to the proper weighted factors and then are assigned for interview purposes on the basis of location. Since names of interviewees or specific addresses are usually assigned to the pollster, little is left to his discretion, and certain hazards in constructing the sample are overcome. The expenses and administrative problems attendant upon the planning and execution of this method tend to curtail its use.

An alternative method is "quota control" or "quota sampling." A formula is prepared by the city designating a given number of persons to be interviewed in certain strata, such as economic or social status, age, sex, and community size, but the selection of the particular individuals to be interrogated is left to the judgment of the interviewer. Interviewer bias becomes a factor at this point, and the persons chosen may not truly represent the demands of the formula. Granting the competence of the interviewer, his problem is one of: (1) getting sufficient information about a respondent to ensure proper classification; and (2) following the rule of random selection.

Questions. There are three primary question forms: the open-end or free-answer question, the multiple-choice question, and the dichotomous type. The open-end question allows the respondent to express himself without limitation and is best utilized before opinion on an issue has become crystallized. Typical examples are: "What is your opinion on a raise in salary for public school teachers?" or "What is your opinion on the handling of juvenile delinquency in this city?" Answers are carefully catalogued and supplementary questions elicit as much information as possible. Principal criticisms may be listed as the difficulty of classifying the many and varied responses which are received; the possibility of interviewer bias in guiding the responses which are received; and the time required to execute such a project. The advantages appear in establishing sympathetic contact between interviewer and respondent and in the completeness and accuracy of the answers.

The multiple-choice questions offers the interviewee a series of possible answers from one extreme position to the other, coupled with an opportunity to express a degree of doubt or certainty. A hazard in this type of question is the tendency of the respondent to seek a middle position without committing himself categorically.

The third vehicle by which the interviewee may be stimulated is the dichotomous question, calling for a "yes" or "no" response. This technique is short, simple, inexpensive, and avoids the pitfall of elaboration; however, it reveals neither the intensity with which a conviction is entertained nor the supporting reasons.

Common errors in question construction applying to all types are obscure meaning; vagueness, which discourages a precise answer; suggestion of a stereotype or learned-pattern response; presentation of issues which cannot be sufficiently circumscribed; offer of too limited, too large, or too many alternatives; content which is too difficult or technical; and topics of limited interest.

Suggestions to meet these objections are: that a staff of experts word each question to eliminate bias; that questions receive a preballot test in trial interviews to determine their "workability"; and that two versions of the same question be sent to separate trial cross sections of the sample, the results being compared to indicate flaws in wording. Finally, filter questions of simple fact may precede the question, to determine whether or not the respondent is informed upon an issue about which he is asked to express an opinion.

Interviewers. Of all the elements on which the quality of a poll depends, the one which is the final analysis determines the effectiveness of a polling organization, is the quality of its interviewer personnel. It presents all the difficulties usually involved in measuring human aptitudes, plus the

additional complication that the persons whose aptitudes are being assessed are located at a more or less great physical distance from those who must observe and train them.

A good interviewer must be able to meet the following general qualifications: (1) he must have a pleasant manner; (2) he must inspire confidence; (3) he must not commit psychological blunders with respondents; (4) he must follow his instructions scrupulously; (5) he must do his work with a minimum of technical mistakes; (6) he must persevere in the face of difficulties; and (7) he must not cheat.

In spite of careful selection and training, interviewer bias is an important obstacle to the attainment of validity and reliability in polling results. Some typical problems may be mentioned. Negroes will give a different answer to other Negroes from what they will give to white persons. Workers will respond one way to members of their own group and another to white-collar interviewers. The questioner may project his ideas to the respondent by his manner, tone of voice, or other inadvertent signal. Other possibilities of error exist in selecting respondents in the same social class as the interviewer, thus discriminating against persons in lower economic strata; in choosing reasonably attractive houses instead of hovels for the interview; in not following the rule of random sampling; and in failing to follow up on an absentee respondent.

An additional threat to the validation of poll results is the behavior of the respondent. Persons selected arbitrarily by the central office under the area control pattern may not wish to cooperate. An intangible problem also develops when the interviewee either intentionally or unconsciously misrepresents his opinions.

Finally, the interviewing situation might not be conducive to the production of reliable data. Although admonished not to do so, an interrogator may conduct his interview with the victim on the fly or at curbstone instead of in the home. Personal friends may be contacted who fail to take the project seriously, or the same persons may be interviewed repeatedly until they assume the characteristics of trained seals.

Two possible alternatives are the secret ballot and the group interview.

The secret ballot has the considerable advantage of eliminating the hazard of conveying information through the personality of an incompetent or biased interviewer operating in a prejudicial environment. The disadvantages of this method may be summarized as lacking the flexibility of an interview in terms of qualifications and explanations of answers; releasing the respondent from the pressure which will ensure participation; inability to control only partial participation; and, finally, distortion of the sample by elimination of illiterates from participation.

The group interview may minimize some of the faults of person-to-person contact. This technique gives individuals more confidence, permits wider discussion of variations of opinion, and allows the interviewer to probe for information without giving offense.

The two examples which follow are presented as illustrations of the type of survey which a small community can use. The Bloomington survey is an example of an inexpensive, but highly valuable, way of assessing attitudes. The Covina survey, using the mailed questionnaire, is a good example of an alternative approach.

Bloomington Survey. A few cities have experimented with the use of opinion surveys as an aid in discovering citizen desires and attitudes. In 1956-57 the city of Bloomington, Illinois, conducted a survey of its citizens to determine what the public thought about their city, about the form of city government, and why they voted against the sale of the city light plant. The survey was conducted jointly by the city, the Central Illinois Committee on Community Development, and Illinois State Normal University. A local newspaper, the *Daily Pantagraph* added the important ingredient of publicity.

The sample used in the survey was obtained from the listing of registered voters at the county clerk's office. The list contained 19,156 names distributed among 37 precincts, ranging in size from 299 to 683. An identification number was assigned to each of the voters in each of the precincts. A simple 10 per cent sample of the registered voters in each of the precincts was selected by the use of the tables in the Rand Corporation's *A Million Random Digits with 100,000 Normal Deviates*. The total size of the sample was 1,929, while the precinct samples ranged from 30 to 68.

During the course of interviewing 337 names were eliminated because they had died, were too ill to be questioned, refused to cooperate, or could not be located.

A schedule of questions was drawn up with questions arranged in such a way that the first question would be noncontroversial, yet provocative. A pretest was completed in an effort to eliminate items which were ambiguous or biased. Length of the schedule was held to both sides of a single $8\frac{1}{2} \times 14$ -inch sheet. A copy of the schedule appears in Appendix A.

Most of the interviewing was done by students at the Illinois State Normal University who were given the option of participation in the study as a substitute for term papers. Each student was assigned about 10 persons to interview and was given instructions in general interviewing techniques; a telephone check was made on interviewer cheating. Fifty-five schedules were given to other students to be redone when evidence of falsification was found. It is significant that some of the discrepancies in reporting (not falsification), such as the difference between stated vote on the sale of the light plant and actual vote, could have been due to such factors as arrangement of questions and interviewer's age.

Results of the survey have been published showing some interesting and significant differences on the basis of age, economic level, and education. The final report of the Bloomington survey summarized the findings. It was found that the voters of Bloomington in overwhelming numbers like the community in which they live; they appear to lack information on such things as the tax situation and the Bloomington city plan; a majority of the citizens approve of the council-manager form of government; and approximately one-half of the residents of Bloomington would uphold segregation in housing.

The authors of the Bloomington survey report drew some conclusions from the wealth of material they had accumulated. (1) The citizens are in favor of expansion of recreational facilities, but refuse to accept the burden of new or higher taxes to pay for them. An education program aimed at informing the public on the tax structure of the city was recommended. (2) New industry for the city is approved by most of the respondents, and efforts should be made to attract it, while at the same time informing the public on both the advantages and disadvantages industry can impose. (3) The Bloomington city plan, although it received much publicity, was poorly understood by a sizeable proportion of the electorate. A long-term educational program for the community is needed. (4) Although a majority of the voters uphold the manager plan, there are many who do not understand the basic principles of the plan. Again, the report recommends an education program. (5) Although no specific recommendations are made in the area of race relations, the problem is recognized since one-half of Bloomington's voters favor segregation.

The report concludes with a nine-point program of recommendations:

1. Work toward tax reform, including constitutional revision.
2. Work for a short ballot and the abolishment of inefficient political units, such as the township.
3. Investigate ways in which a realistic and functional community educational program might best be set up.
4. Encourage schools to join in this education program.
5. Retain the council-manager plan.
6. Consider carefully the feasibility of a return to the ward system of electing councilmen, or at least a partial return.
7. In no case expect a panacea or overnight change in the community or its citizens.
8. In regard to racial discrimination in the Bloomington area, see that relevant state statutes are enforced.
9. Consider intergovernmental cooperation between the cities of Bloomington and Normal as ways of eliminating duplication and inefficiency.

What positive results have been accomplished from the use of the survey? Has any follow-up been made to estimate accomplishments? In discussing the survey with Eugene Moody, city

manager of Bloomington, some results were noted. Perhaps the most significant result of the survey was the finding of the interviewers that many of the citizens of Bloomington had little or no information on the Bloomington city plan. Because of this, greater effort was made to spread information on this aspect of government, particularly by the city planning commission. City officials had assumed previously that citizens received information on the city plan by reading the local newspaper. Much to their surprise, or perhaps disappointment, this was found to be untrue. A greater emphasis was put on oral promotion of the plan.

Because there is no active opposition to the council-manager plan no effort has been made to increase public knowledge of the system. A referendum is expected on the continuance of the at large system of electing councilmen.

Nothing has been accomplished in the area of the short ballot and tax reform because of state laws and lack of constitutional reform. Because of this and the refusal of the citizens to assume larger taxes, no major public improvements have been made.

One area which has made a significant contribution is the development of a cooperative venture between Bloomington and Normal. The two cities jointly sponsored an industrial development program, with some tangible results. Just recently the Illinois Agriculture Association decided to move its general offices into the area. In addition, joint financing of an airport authority is being considered by the two cities to replace the present system of administering the Bloomington airport.

Covina Survey. In January, 1959, Covina, California, initiated a survey of a similar type. A questionnaire was mailed to all homes and businesses in Covina. Of 5,400 questionnaires mailed, 17.4 per cent were returned. Questions dealt with the quality of city services; frequency of citizen contact with city services; desirable and undesirable features of living in Covina; tax rates; and suggestions for municipal improvements. Survey results were reported in detail in the local newspaper. A copy of the questionnaire has been reproduced in Appendix B.

The total cost of the survey, including return postage was slightly under \$400, excluding staff tabulation time of approximately 150 manhours. The questionnaires were mailed on the basis of an area sample of Covina but did not attempt to correlate response to questions with age, education, income level, political party preference, or any of the other factors which could influence attitudes.

Major conclusions from the survey were: (1) Police, fire, and general administration are the most important city services. (2) The most frequent citizen contacts are with refuse collection, libraries, and parks. (3) The most desirable features of living in the city are the small-town atmosphere, friendly people, and location. (4) The least desirable features of living in the city are taxes, smog, and inadequate public transportation. (5) Citizens would like better streets, more parks and pools, and better refuse collection services. (6) Citizens are not willing to pay additional taxes for improvements. (7) Citizens consider the tax rate to be "fair." (8) Future development requires additional homes, commercial facilities, and particularly light industry.

Some Cautions. A city which is considering the use of an opinion survey should evaluate the situation carefully. Most municipalities will find the expense of using an outside research or polling agency prohibitively high. If a city decides to conduct its own survey it must use caution in organizing and conducting the survey. Like Covina, it may have to use a mailed questionnaire, the limited response to which may not justify the expense of conducting the survey.

Cities may find it valuable and inexpensive to solicit the aid of a local university in the interviewing stage, if this method is to be used. The city or advisory committee sponsoring the project can then use the results in the implementation of the recommendations. Where volunteer aid is solicited, the city must provide the leadership necessary, not just to organize the survey, but also to carry it through to some concrete action.

Policy Formation in a Municipal Setting

The Process

The previous section outlined some fundamental measures which city officials can utilize in the determination of needs and desires. But the functions of city councils do not end there. These

findings must be utilized, they must be implemented with policy declarations. What individuals and what groups will actually determine policy to be followed on a specific issue?

People are deeply concerned with leadership in their local governments that can cope with complex urban and metropolitan problems. They want a government that is responsible but not subservient — and they want officials to whom they can look for guidance.

For the strong mayor who has the backing of a sizeable proportion of the public, the problem of policy determination is limited — at least to the extent that he strongly influences determination of policy. The city manager has a much more difficult and delicate role to fulfill. It is not surprising, then, that many conflicting views on the role of the manager appear in administrative literature.

From its inception, the council-manager form of government has stressed unity of power in a single elective body — the city council — rather than the separation of powers characteristic of the mayor-council form. This very fact has led to a blurring of the lines between policy and administration; it is sometimes very difficult to clarify the point at which they merge.

Basic to any discussion of the role the manager plays in policy is an understanding of "policy formulation," "policy initiation," and "policy making." Within these forces which make up the governmental process is a role which the manager can legitimately play. For purposes of this report, *policy initiation* means the introduction of a series of motivating forces which begins the process of policy formulation. *Policy formulation* is a series of decisions and influences — the manager, department personnel, the public, interest groups — which occur on any issue from the time of initiation and up to, but not including, the final decision to enact an ordinance or law. This final decision is *policy-making*. The whole process, from initiation to final decision, makes up the governmental process.

It is important to speak of this decision-making situation in terms of an over-all policy process rather than just the culmination point. Frequently the public sees and only recognizes this final decision. They hear it on the radio and TV, they read it in the local press: "Council votes 5-2 to increase the pay scales in city fire department." For public officials, the issue is not nearly so clear-cut, and the final decision may only be an anticlimax. How, then, does this process take place?

Policy, which is here defined as both an immediate goal and a method of achieving a higher goal, is initiated in many ways. If initiation is the immediate and direct influence or advice given to council, this phase of the process is predominately conditioned by two forces: the city manager and the council itself. Other forces which actively initiate policy are: department personnel, interest groups, and the public. Clarence Ridley in his report on *The Role of the City Manager in Policy Formulation*, found that 75 to 90 per cent of all policies adopted by city councils originate outside of the council, and that many of the policy proposals are actually initiated by the city manager and his staff.

The next step, policy formulation is predominantly the function of those inside the government. How does the manager involve himself in this process? The manager has the job of ascertaining needs, supplying information to the council, and of ascertaining community attitudes and desires. This last function is not normally a formal procedure; it revolves more often down to the ability and sensitivity of the manager to the beliefs and desires of the people.

Policy-making, which is the final decision on the issue, is the province of the city council. It is the job of the council to make the laws; it is the function of the manager to *aid* in the initiation, formulation, and execution of the law.

The extent of this involvement depends on many factors: the personal characteristics of the manager; the strength and activity of political parties and interest groups; the legal structure of the community; the ability and the desires of the city council; and the sense of responsibility exhibited by the various groups inside and outside the government.

Role of the City Manager

The city manager is at the vortex of the forces affecting municipal policy. More than any other one person he has the opportunity to ascertain total community desires. If he uses this opportunity he can be of great influence in informing and motivating the city council in policy matters.

Much depends on the personality, attitudes, and ability of the manager himself. He knows that cost data, polls, and other measures are servants, not masters. He appreciates the importance of timing and the evaluation of council and community acceptance. The manager who is more keenly in tune with the community relies on church groups, service clubs, fraternal organizations, and other groups to provide some idea of community attitudes. But he also keeps in touch with labor unions, veterans' organizations, and other groups that are not necessarily socially acceptable. In other words he tries to keep in touch with all segments of the community.

Such a manager also worries about the "unorganized" who are difficult to reach. (Sociological studies indicate that as much as one-half of the citizens in some communities do not belong to *any* organization, not even a church.) One thing the manager can do in such circumstances is to consult informally with the recreation director, the YMCA secretary, and other group workers. These persons, through working largely with young people, gain considerable insight into the home environment and attitudes of the parents of young people. School officials often can be helpful too. The school superintendent, for example, is just as concerned with community attitudes as is the city manager.

The personal life of the manager also must be in tune with community attitudes. Although a white-collar, upper-middle-income citizen, he should not be identified too closely by the public with the social circles in the "better" sections of town. An added danger of too close an association with one group is that he may absorb the strongly conservative views of his associates.

In the city manager's relations with council he must be aware of council's wishes, the social and political mores of his community, and his own integrity. He must never forget that his principal role is one of service to the council so that council will take positive advantage of the aid the manager can give them in enacting laws and making decisions. Once this basic adjustment has been made in a community, the manager can become more than just a "housekeeper." He can become a legitimate force for forward-looking policies.

Gaining Citizen Cooperation

Once council has recognized the need for a particular program, it has the further job of organizing public opinion into a cohesive desire for city improvements. This is a more difficult task than measuring need. It involves not only an assessment of the tenor of the community but at times a complete education program of all the citizens, not just a few selected leaders or groups. What are some of the methods which can be used to gain citizen approval for a capital improvement program or an extension of present services?

The Use of Citizen Advisory Committees. Management Information Service Report No. 130 (November, 1954) defines the citizen advisory committee as "a special citizen committee created for the purpose of advising the city council or chief executive on specific problems or to develop public understanding and support for proposed projects such as capital improvements or charter amendments."

These committees are normally appointed for a single purpose, are temporary in nature, and possess none of the powers or responsibilities of permanent boards and commissions. They are created by resolution or informal agreement. These groups play several different roles, from providing technical advice to promoting specific projects in the community at large. In the first instance they have the goal of fact-finding and advice which will aid city council or the manager arrive at a solution to a specific problem. Cities appoint fact-finding committees to study controversial problems of community-wide interest or to provide technical advice on a problem. In both cases the final decision of the appointing authority is likely to follow the recommendations of the committee, or at least to be based to a great extent on its findings.

Citizen advisory committees have been used by cities also as a public relations device, to acquaint the community with the needs of the city, and to gain citizen support for programs, especially when these must be submitted to the voters in referendums. A citizen committee can be useful in promotion by devising and actively directing a program to secure approval of citizens for some project. The committee can aid the community to obtain a better understanding of city problems and the reasons for specific programs and actions.

Several years ago, Hartford, Connecticut, used an advisory committee as a public relations agency, to formulate an education program for a new waste collection system which was being placed into effect. Seven citizens representing the advertising club, newspapers, and radio stations collaborated with officials of the health and public works departments in organizing the program. The city followed the recommended program of the committee and the transition from the old system of separate garbage collection to the new system of combined collection was made with a minimum of confusion.

Some cities have achieved excellent results with citizen committees designed to serve in both an advisory and a public relations capacity. This type of committee is asked to study a problem and suggest solutions to the appointing authority, but its function is considered to be much broader. The committee becomes thoroughly familiar with problems and their implications and can relay this information to a larger group of citizens. This will enable the city to gain support for programs and to reduce to some extent the criticism of those opposed.

Community Councils. Education of the public to a community need can be effectively channeled through a local community council. The community council is organized to deal with broad problems of community planning. Unlike the citizens advisory committee it is on a continuing basis. It is normally composed of city officials and leaders from interest groups, such as the chamber of commerce.

An excellent example of a community council was reported in the February, 1952, issue of *Public Management*. The Dalles, Oregon, created a council to coordinate top level planning by various local government agencies in Wasco County. The committee was composed of 22 public officials of the state, county, city, school district, and port district, and seven officials of the local chamber of commerce and central labor council. The council concerned itself with matters that have an overlapping interest between two or more local agencies, matters of community-wide import arising between local authorities and higher governmental agencies, and matters requiring immediate action where no adequate opportunity for determining public opinion is afforded.

Neighborhood Meetings. Another means of stimulating citizen interest in city programs and providing better understanding is neighborhood forums. This may be accomplished by scheduling a series of forums at strategic locations throughout the city and encouraging as much citizen participation as possible through advance publicity by the local newspapers, writing post card invitations to householders throughout the community, and having pupils take home brochures on the day of the forums to ensure as much participation as possible.

Mass Media. One of the best methods of putting a program over with a large group of people is to solicit the cooperation of the press, TV, and radio. Sympathetic and fair appraisals of the program by the local newspaper can go far in educating the people to the need for improvements. A program such as "Your City Manager Speaks" on the TV or radio can present facets of the program which the citizen ordinarily will not take the time to find out.

There are numerous ways in which the mass media and visual aids can be used to explain a program and tell a story. San Rafael, California, when it was engaged in the fight to elicit support for Frank Lloyd Wright's Civic Center, prepared a colored film which told the entire story of Marin County and the importance of the center to the growth of the area. This film was first presented at a mass meeting and later was shown to improvement and service clubs to solidify public sentiment in behalf of the civic center. This film was successful where previous mass meetings had failed.

Special Reports. These are particularly good if the city has a hostile press or if the press neglects to report news from city hall. These reports can be distributed by on-duty firemen or other city employees to each home.

Election Campaigns, and Bond Issue Referenda. An election campaign is a particularly good time to bring to the people any programs on which a referendum is necessary. People are generally more interested in these programs at election time, and if properly handled they can be very successful. Two problems are apparent here: (1) Charges and counter-charges by election campaigners may obscure the real facts of the case and thus produce confusion on the part of the voters. (2) Vague or ambiguous presentation of the bond issue on the ballot will confuse the voters. Questions on the ballot should be presented in clear, simple language so that the average individual does

not mistake what the issue is. The voting percentage on questions or amendments is extremely low, due in great part to the complex language of the questions.

It is frequently found, also, that issues which are combined with several other issues frequently are defeated because of distaste for one or more of the programs. Each program should be presented separately so that each issue may be judged on its own merits.

Citizen interest must be nurtured, cultivated, maintained. And there is no better way to do that than by putting citizens to work in helping to resolve municipal problems and by keeping them fully advised as to what the problems and needs are and what is being done about them. The importance of citizen interest and support cannot be overestimated, and if a positive program of developing and guiding citizen cooperation is undertaken, experience has shown that, armed with all of the facts, the overwhelming majority of them will make the right decision on most occasions.

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Note. This report was prepared by Robert L. Brunton, assistant director, and Eleanor A. Schwab, staff member, the International City Managers' Association.

Appendix A

Questionnaire Used in Bloomington, Illinois, To Measure Public Opinion

CENTRAL ILLINOIS COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
BLOOMINGTON OPINION SURVEY

Precinct No. _____

Identification Number of Interviewee _____

Record of Calls Made

Call	Date	Time	Interviewer	Outcome	Remarks
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

1. About how many years have you lived in Bloomington? _____
2. How well do you like Bloomington as a place to live?
Very well . . . Fair . . . Not too well . . .
3. What do you like most about it?

Churches	People (nice)
Climate	Recreation
Cultural center	Schools
Government	Size
Jobs (type)	Stores
Hometown	Taxes (fair)
Location	No reply
Other — specify:	
4. What do you like least about it?

Bus service	Schools
Climate	Size
Crime, etc.	Stores
Government	Taxes
Location	Parking, etc.
Recreation	Wages, etc.
Other — specify: No reply	
5. (a) Do you think that we should have city-owned-and-operated parking lots in downtown Bl.?
Yes . . . No . . . Don't know . . . No reply . . .
 (b) If answer is "no," why?
 Private business can do job better.

Taxes	Socialism
Other — specify: No reply	
6. Do you think more industry should be allowed to enter Bloomington?
Yes . . . No . . . Don't know . . . No reply . . .
7. (a) How would you rate the recreation facilities provided by the city of Bloomington?
Adequate . . . Inadequate . . . No reply . . .
 (b) What would you suggest for improvement? Specify:
 (c) Would you be willing to vote for a tax to expand and improve Bloomington's park system?
Yes . . . No . . . Don't know . . . No reply . . .
 (d) Would you like to see a county plan for recreation set up?
Yes . . . No . . . Don't know . . .
8. (a) Would you tell me how you voted on the swimming pool?
Didn't vote . . . For . . . Against . . . No reply . . .
 (b) If answer was "against" — Why?
 Non-Bloomingtonians would use it.
 Existing facilities not well used.
 Proposed pool is too fancy

Location	Races mixed
Size too small	Taxes
No reply	Other — specify:

 (c) If answer was "against" — would you vote for a swimming pool if the above reasons were removed? (Example: No raise in taxes, better location)
Yes . . . No . . . Don't know . . . No reply . . .
 (d) What do you think it would cost the average taxpayer to put a swimming pool in Bloomington?

Appendix A — continued

9. (a) Would you say how you voted on the sale of the light plant?
 Didn't vote . . For . . Against . . No reply . .
 (b) If against — Why?
 Distrust city government intentions
 Would raise electric rates
 Harmful to present plant staff
 Plant makes money for city
 Other — specify:
 (c) If for — Why?
 Private business can do job better
 City could use the money
 Escape socialism
 Other — specify:
10. (a) How well do you like the Council-Manager form of city government we now have?
 Very well . . Fair . . Not too well . .
 Don't know about it . . No reply . .
 (b) What is your major criticism?
 All parts of city not represented
 Costs more than previous type
 Manager is not local person
 None No reply
 Other — specify:
 (c) Would you like to see a return to our previous Mayor-Council type?
 Yes . . No . . Don't know . . No reply . .
11. (a) Have you heard of the Bloomington City Plan?
 Yes . . No . . No reply . .
 (b) What do you think of it?
 Approve . . Indifferent . . Disapprove . .
 Don't know . . No reply . .
 (c) Is there anything in particular you dislike about it?
 Inefficient Commission members
 Commission favors certain groups
 Use of outside "Experts" (Barth.)
 Cost . . Dislike everything . . No . .
 No reply . .
12. (a) Do you think that you are legally entitled to attend city planning commission meetings?
 Yes . . No . . Don't know . .
 (b) Do you think that you are legally entitled to make suggestions at these meetings?
 Yes . . No . . Don't know . .
- (c) Do you think that you are legally entitled to attend city council meetings?
 Yes . . No . . Don't know . .
- (d) Do you think that you are legally entitled to make suggestions at these meetings?
 Yes . . No . . Don't know . .
13. What percentage of our city, county, and state taxes do you think go to support the city government of Bloomington?
 0-9 20-29 40-49 60-69 80-89
 10-19 30-39 50-59 70-79 90-99
 No reply . .
14. (a) Do you think the people in your precinct are getting a fair voice in the city government?
 Yes . . No . . Don't know . . No reply . .
 (b) Would you care to comment further on this?
15. (a) Who do you think are the most influential people behind the scene in city politics? (name and address)
 (b) Which groups are the most powerful, i.e. have most of the say, in Bloomington? Specify:
16. What is your main source of information concerning *local* news and issues?
 Radio . . TV . . Other people . .
Pantagraph . . Have none . .
17. (a) How often do you read the *Pantagraph*?
 Almost always . . Usually . . Seldom . .
 Never . .
 (b) Except when answer is "never":
 How good a job do you think the *Pantagraph* does in covering news important to the citizens of Bloomington?
 Very good . . Fair . . Poor . .
 (c) What is your major criticism of the way it covers local news (not its editorial policy)?
 Biased-favors certain groups
 Too much petty news
 Insufficient coverage
 None . . No reply . . Other — specify:
18. Would you give the names of two local people you know whose opinions on local

Appendix A — continued

- political questions you most highly respect?
What are their addresses?
(a)
(b)
(c) Don't know anybody
(d) No reply
19. Are you married — widowed — single — divorced — separated?
20. If other than single — Do you have any children living at home under 21?
Yes . . No . .
21. If answer to 20 is "yes," how many?
1 . . . 2 . . . 3 . . . 4 . . . 5 . . . 6 . . .
7 . . . More?
22. Would you give me your approximate age?
21-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60-69
70 and over
23. How far did you get in school?
Never went Graduate high
Some grade Some college
Graduate grade Graduate college
Some high No reply
24. Do you own or rent your home?
Own . . Rent . . No reply . .
25. At the present time are you employed, unemployed, or retired? _____
26. Would you be willing to state your political party preference?
No . . Republican . . Democrat . . Independent . .
27. How do you consider yourself to be in regard to financial worries?
More worries than average . . Average . .
Less than average . .
28. Do you think Negroes should be permitted to buy or rent homes in the same block that whites live?
Yes . . No . . No reply . .
29. (a) Do you subscribe to or read regularly an out-of-town paper or news magazine?
Yes . . No . . No reply . .
(b) Would you say which one(s)?
30. Sex: Male Female
31. Race: N W Other
- INTERVIEWER:

Source: Benjamin J. Keeley, *The Bloomington Survey* (Normal, Illinois: Illinois State Normal University, 1958), pp. 52-54.

Appendix B

Questionnaire Used by Covina, California, To Measure Citizen Attitudes on Municipal Services

C I T Y O F C O V I N A

January 28, 1959

Dear Citizen:

As Covina continues to grow, your City Council and city employees wish to grow with it by providing the kind of municipal services desired by the citizens of Covina.

The best way this can be done is by having you indicate your opinion of the city services listed below as well as any suggestions you have for improvements.

To our knowledge this is the first time any city has conducted a survey of all its citizens and therefore we urge your cooperation in this unique effort to find out what you want for Covina. Because we hope your answers will be as frank as possible, please do not sign this questionnaire.

Thank you for helping to make Covina a better place in which to live, work, and play.

SERVICE	What has been your contact with the Service?			What is the quality of the Service?				
	Frequent	Occasional	None	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	No Opinion
Building Inspection								
Engineering								
Fire								
General Administration								
Library								
Parks								
Parkway trees								
Planning								
Police								
Recreation								
Refuse Collection								
Street Maintenance								
Street Sweeping								
Traffic Control								
Water								
Overall Evaluation of City Services								

Please indicate the relative importance you give the above services by numbering them in the left hand margin. For example, if you believe library is the most important, mark it "1", if recreation is next most important, mark it "2", and so on.

Appendix B — continued

1. Where do you live? Hundred Block _____ Street _____
2. What do you consider the most desirable feature of living in Covina? _____

3. What do you consider the least desirable feature of living in Covina? _____

4. What specific suggestions do you have for improving municipal services? _____

5. If it were necessary to increase taxes in order to pay for the improvements you suggest, would you be willing to pay the additional cost? _____
6. What is your opinion of these tax rates?

Jurisdiction	High	Fair	Low
1. Los Angeles County Tax rate?	_____	_____	_____
2. School Districts Tax rate?	_____	_____	_____
3. City of Covina tax rate?	_____	_____	_____
4. Special Districts tax rate?	_____	_____	_____
7. Do you believe that the proper development of Covina requires:
 - (a) Additional commercial facilities? _____
 - (b) Additional residences? _____
 - (c) Additional light industrial facilities? _____

Please mail this questionnaire by folding it as indicated. No postage is needed.

Thank you for participating in the development of Covina's future.

Thomas DeWitt

Howard Hawkins

Donald Leggett

Maurice Upton

Paul Welsch

BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE

No postage stamp necessary if mailed in the United States

Postage will be paid by—

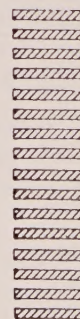
City Administrator
CITY OF COVINA

125 East College Street
Covina, California

FIRST CLASS

Permit No. 179

Covina, Calif.



Appendix C

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